

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1323

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY CANBERRA

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

USMISSION USUN NY

USMISSION USNATO

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 1698

DISTO

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, CCD

SUBJECT: CCD; PARTICIPATION IN NFZ STUDY GROUP

REF: (A) GENEVA 1575, (B) STATE 052711; (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: USDEL'S REPEATED EFFORTS TO GET SOVIET AGREEMENT TO GENUINELY LIMITED SLATE OF EAST-WEST PARTICIPANTS IN NUCLEAR FREE ZONE STUDY GROUP HAVE NOT BEEN SUCCESSFUL. UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, WE HAVE AGREED WITH SOVIET CO-CHAIRMAN TO SEEK CONSENSUS INSTEAD ON BASIS OF SOVIET COMPROMISE
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PROPOSAL WHICH WOULD ALLOW FOR PARTICIPATION IN GROUP

BY ALL CCD MEMBERS WHO INDICATE WITHIN TWO WEEKS THAT THEY ARE PREPARED TO SEND AN EXPERT. IN ADDITION, FOUR NON-CCD MEMBERS WOULD BE INVITED: FINLAND, AUSTRALIA, GHANA AND ECUADOR. THIS PROPOSAL HAS BEEN READILY ACCEPTED BY OUR ALLIES, AND IN NUMBER OF CASES WITH EVIDENT RELIEF. OUR CONTACTS THUS FAR INDICATE THAT MANY NON-ALIGNED CONTINUE TO PREFER LIMITED MEMBERSHIP, BUT WE ESTIMATE POSSIBILITY REMAINS THAT MOST WILL COME TO ACCEPT THE IDEA THAT CCD MEMBERS GENUINELY INTERESTED IN THE GROUP SHOULD BE ALLOOED TO PARTICIPATE. (IT IS LIKELY THAT NOT ALL MEMBERS WOULD CHOOSE TO DO SO.) AUSTRALIANS HAVE MEANWHILE FORMALLY EXPRESSED THEIR INTEREST IN JOINING THE GROUP, AND, UNEXPECTEDLY, BELGIANS HAVE DONE SO ALSO. BELGIAN CANDIDACY IS COMPLICATING FACTOR AND MUCH WILL DEPEND UPON SOVIET REACTION TO IT. CCD WILL ATTEMPT TO SETTLE PARTICIPATION QUESTION AT INFORMAL MEETING SCHEDULED FOR FRIDAY, MARCH 14. END SUMMARY.

2. PURSUANT TO REFTTEL (B), USDEL HELD SEVERAL ROUNDS OF CONSULTATIONS WITH SOVIETS MARCH 10 AND 11 IN EFFORT TO REACH AGREEMENT ON FORMULA THAT WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY LIMIT SIZE OF NFZ STUDY GROUP. WE MADE IT CLEAR TO SOVIETS THAT US COULD NOT ACCEPT IDEA OF HAVING AUSTRALIAN PARTICIPATION BALANCED BY ADDITIONAL WARSAW PACT CCD MEMBER. WE URGED SOVIETS, THEREFORE, TO REDUCE THEIR EASTERN SLATE TO 4 AND IF GDR HAD TO BE INCLUDED, THAT IT BE SUBSTITUTED FOR CZECHOSLOVAKIA. SOVIETS REMAINED ADAMANT AND STATED THAT FOR THEM QUESTION OF POLITICAL BALANCE IS MUCH MORE IMPORTANT THAN LIMITING TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS. (WE HAVE IMPRESSION THAT SOVIET DEL HAS FIRM INSTRUCTIONS ON THIS POINT FROM MOSCOW.) SOVIETS ALSO STATED THAT RUMANIA, BULGARIA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND POLAND HAD ALL EXPRESSED STRONG INTEREST IN PARTICIPATING IN STUDY GROUP AND SOVIETS REITERATED THEY WERE NOT IN POSITION TO SUBSTITUTE GDR FOR ANY ONE OF THOSE FOUR.

3. SOVIETS ALSO CONTINUED TO INSIST THAT AUSTRALIA BE BALANCED BY ADDITIONAL WARSAW PACT CCD MEMBER. (USDEL CONFIDENTIAL

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DID NOT WANT, WITHOUT INSTRUCTIONS, TO RAISE WITH SOVIETS POSSIBILITY OF BALANCING AUSTRALIA WITH SOVIET ALLY FROM OUTSIDE CCD SINCE SOVIETS MIGHT THEN HAVE SUGGESTED PARTICIPATION OF NORTH KOREA, CUBA, OR NORTH VIET NAM.)

4. WHEN IT BECAME OBVIOUS THAT BECAUSE OF SOVIET INSISTENCE ON POLITICAL BALANCE CO-CHAIRMEN WOULD BE UNABLE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON FORMULA THAT WOULD KEEP

EAST-WEST REPRESENTATION LOW, ROSHCIN SUGGESTED AS COMPROMISE THAT ALL CCD MEMBERS BE ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE IN STUDY GROUP IF THEY INDICATED BY MARCH 20 BOTH AN INTEREST IN DOING SO AND READINESS TO PROVIDE AN EXPERT. WE TOLD SOVIETS WE VERY MUCH REGRETTED THAT THEIR INSISTENCE ON BALANCE HAD MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE TO REACH AGREEMENT ON SMALL SLATE OF EAST-WEST CANDIDATES, AND THAT UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES, US WOULD BE PREPARED TO SEEK CONSENSUS ON ROSCHIN'S COMPROMISE PROPOSAL. WE SUGGESTED, HOWEVER, THAT TO FACILITATE CONSENSUS CCD MEMBERS BE GIVEN A LITTLE LONGER TIME, UNTIL MARCH 25, TO INDICATE READINESS TO PARTICIPATE. SOVIETS READILY AGREED TO THIS MODIFICATION. AT MEETING OF DEPUTY CHIEFS OF WESTERN DELEGATIONS FOLLOWING MARCH 11 PLENARY, WE INFORMED ALLIES OF THE OUTCOME OF OUR FURTHER CONSULTATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS AND THEY READILY AGREED TO ROSHCIN'S COMPROMISE PROPOSAL. CANADIANS SEEMED PARTICULARLY PLEASED BY THIS OUTCOME, HAVING FROM THE OUTSET (GENEVA 1514) EXPRESSED SKEPTICISM ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR LIMITING STUDY GROUP MEMBERSHIP. OTHER ALLIES ALSO SEEMED RELIEVED BECAUSE COMPROMISE PROPOSAL REMOVES ANY DOUBTS ABOUT THEIR OWN INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPATION AND OBIVIATES THE NETTLESOME TASK OF TRYING TO REACH AGREEMENT AMONG THE ALLIES AS TO WHO SHOULD BE ON A SMALL SLATE.

5. USDEL ALSO CONTACTED KEY NON-ALIGNED DELEGATIONS (SWEDEN, MEXICO, YUGOSLAVIA, ARGENTINA, PAKISTAN, AND INDIA) DURING AFTERNOON OF MARCH 11 TO INFORM THEM OF THE OUTCOME OF EAST-WEST CONSULTATIONS ON PARTICIPATION. WE EXPLAINED TO THEM THAT OUR BEST EFFORTS TO REACH AN AGREEMENT ON A SMALL EAST-WEST SLATE OF CANDIDATES HAD FAILED BECAUSE OF SOVIET INSISTENCE ON THEIR

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INTERPRETATION OF POLITICAL BALANCE, AND THAT WE HAD REGRETFULLY CONCLUDED THAT ALTERNATIVE WAS TO SEEK CONSENSUS ON BASIS OF ROSHCIN'S COMPROMISE PROPOSAL. WE POINTED OUT THAT WE EXPECTED SEVERAL MEMBERS OF THE CCD WOULD NOT IN FACT CHOOSE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GROUP THUS HELPING HOLD DOWN SIZE SOMEWHAT. INDIANS WERE OBVIOUSLY PLEASED WITH COMPROMISE PROPOSAL; SWEDES AND ARGENTINES WERE UNENTHUSIASTIC; OTHERS WERE NON-COMMITTAL PENDING PLANNED DISCUSSION OF THIS SUBJECT AT THEIR REGULAR MEETING ON WEDNESDAY, MARCH 12.

6. IN AGREEING TO SEEK CONSENSUS ON THE BASIS OF ROSHCIN'S PROPOSAL FOR CCD PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDY GROUP, CO-CHAIRMEN ALSO AGREED TO PURSUE CONSENSUS ON EXTENDING INVITATIONS TO FINLAND, AUSTRALIA, GHANA, AND

ECUADOR, AS PARTICIPANTS FROM OUTSIDE CCD. SOVIETS MADE CLEAR THAT UNDER THE ROSHCIN PROPOSAL, THEY WOULD NOT REQUIRE THE ADDITION OF ANOTHER SOVIET ALLY TO BALANCE AUSTRALIA. (SOVIETS ARE UNDOUBTEDLY MINDFUL OF FACT THAT IF ALL WESTERN AND EASTERN CCD DELEGATIONS PARTICIPATE IN STUDY GROUP, THEY WILL STILL HAVE ONE MORE DELEGATION TO BALANCE AUSTRALIA SINCE ONE MEMBER OF WESTERN GROUP, FRANCE, WILL NOT TAKE PART.) WE HAVE SIMILARLY INFORMED OUR ALLIES AND KEY NON-ALIGNED DELEGATIONS CONCERNING THIS SLATE OF 4 NON-CCD MEMBERS. PREVIOUSLY, ONLY INDIA (GENEVA 1134) HAD EXPRESSED SOME OPPOSITION TO AUSTRALIA, AND WE THINK IT LIKELY THAT THERE WILL BE NO RESISTANCE TO EXTENDING INVITATIONS TO THESE 4 FROM ANY OTHER CCD DELEGATION. FINNS HAVE ALREADY SENT FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIAL (MULLER) TO GENEVA TO PARTICIPATE IN CONSULTATIONS.

(MULLER APPARENTLY ARRIVED WITH INTENT OF PLAYING VERY INSTRUMENTAL ROLE IN ORGANIZING THE STUDY GROUP BUT DISCUSSIONS AMONG CCD MEMBERS WERE, OF COURSE, WELL UNDER WAY AT THE TIME HE ARRIVED (MARCH 10) AND MULLER APPEARS WILLING TO CONFINE HIMSELF TO BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS. USDEL IS KEEPING IN TOUCH WITH HIM AND HE HAS INFORMED US THAT WHILE FINNS ARE NOT SEEKING THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE STUDY GROUP, THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO PROVIDE A CHAIRMAN IF THIS WAS DESIRED BY OTHERS. MULLER HAS ALSO TOLD US THAT IN HIS
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DISCUSSIONS WITH NON-ALIGNED REPS HE HAS ADVOCATED PRAGMATIC APPROACH TO PARTICIPATION QUESTION, ALLOWING ALL COUNTRIES EXPRESSING AN INTEREST TO PARTICIPATE.)

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ACDE-00 ERDA-05 AF-06 ARA-06 CIAE-00

DODE-00 EA-06 EUR-12 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 IO-10 L-02

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1324

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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7. ECUADOR AND GHANA HAVE NOT TAKEN ANY STEPS THAT WE ARE AWARE OF HERE IN GENEVA TO REGISTER AN INTEREST IN PARTICIPATING BUT WE HAVE IMPRESSION THAT MANY NON-ALIGNED AGREE THAT IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO EXTEND AN INVITATION TO THEM IN VIEW OF THEIR STATEMENTS IN NEW YORK LAST YEAR. IN PARTICULAR, AMB GARCIA ROBLES (MEXICO) HAS INDICATED TO US THAT HE COULD READILY AGREE TO ECUADOR'S JOINING THE STUDY GROUP AND AMBASSADOR CLARK (NIGERIA) TOOK A SIMILARLY POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD GHANA.

8. AUSTRALIANS HAVE ALSO CLEARLY REMAINED INTERESTED IN PAR-
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TICIPATING IN THE STUDY GROUP, AND AT THEIR REQUEST WE HAVE KEPT THEM GENERALLY BRIEFED ON THE STATE OF PLAY REGARDING ORGANIZATION OF THE GROUP. AUSTRALIAN DEP PERM REP MADE NO COMMENT WHEN WE INFORMED HIM ON MARCH 11 THAT SOVIETS WOULD REQUIRE A WARSAW PACT MEMBER TO BALANCE AUSTRALIA IF THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE CCD WERE TO BE LIMITED. WE SUBSEQUENTLY INFORMED AUSTRALIANS OF CO-CHAIRMEN'S AGREEMENT TO SEEK CONSENSUS ON BASIS OF ROSHCHIN'S PROPOSAL, ENTAILING INVITATIONS TO AUSTRALIA AND 3 OTHER NON-CCD MEMBERS. THERE IS STRONG SUPPORT WITHIN THE WESTERN ALLIED GROUP FOR AUSTRALIAN PARTICIPATION, AND AUSTRALIA'S INCLUSION IN THE CO-CHAIRMEN'S AGREED FORMULA HAS BEEN A FURTHER SOURCE OF SATISFACTION TO OUR CCD

ALLIES. SEVERAL OF THEM HAD EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT IT WOULD BE MOST UNDESIRABLE IF AUSTRALIA WERE EXCLUDED FROM THE STUDY GROUP BECAUSE THIS WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY LEAD TO A BACKLASH AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY THIS FALL AND BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR AUSTRALIA TO ACCEPT AFTER ITS FAILURE TO WIN ADMISSION TO THE CCD LAST YEAR. ON AFTERNOON MARCH 12, AUSTRALIAN PERM REP, AMBASSADOR DAVIS, CALLED ON AMBASSADOR MARTIN AND SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN AUTHORIZED BY HIS GOVERNMENT TO STATE TO THE CO-CHAIRMAN THAT AUSTRALIA IS INTERESTED IN PARTICIPATING IN THE STUDY GROUP AND WILL DO SO IF INVITED. DAVIS WILL SHORTLY BE CONVEYING SAME INFORMATION TO SOVIET CO-CHAIRMAN.

9. NEW PROBLEM HAS ARISEN CONCERNING PARTICIPATION OF BELGIUM. LATE IN AFTERNOON OF MARCH 11, BELGIAN AMBASSADOR CALLED ON AMBASSADOR MARTIN AND PRESENTED LETTER, ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM BRUSSELS, EXPRESSING BELGIUM'S DESIRE TO BE ADDED TO THE STUDY GROUP AS A NON-CCD MEMBER. THE LETTER CITES BELGIUM'S FAILURE TO WIN ADMISSION TO THE CCD IN 1969, ITS RESTRAINT IN NOT PRESSING ITS CANDIDACY IN 1974, ITS NEED TO BE RESPONSIVE TO BELGIAN PUBLIC OPINION REGARDING DISARMAMENT, AND ITS VIEW THAT WESTERN REPRESENTATION ON THE STUDY GROUP SHOULD BE DETERMINED ON THE BASIS OF ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY. LETTER ALSO ADDS THAT IF CONSENSUS WERE REACHED ALLOWING ALL CCD MEMBERS TO PARTICIPATE, BELGIUM COULD BE REGARDED AS OCCUPYING THE SEAT LEFT VACANT BY FRANCE AND THUS NOT REQUIRE FURTHER "BALANCE."

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ING" BY SOVIET ALLY. AMBASSADOR MARTIN WAS NON-COMMITTAL BUT SAID THAT IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO KNOW SOVIET REACTION TO BELGIAN REQUEST. BELGIANS INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD MAKE A SIMILAR DAMARCHE TO SOVIET CO-CHAIRMAN WITHOUT DELAY. WE WILL REPORT SOVIET REACTION AS SOON AS IT IS CLEAR BUT WE EXPECT BELGIAN CANDIDACY WILL REVIVE SOVIET CONCERNS ABOUT EAST/WEST BALANCE.

10. WE HAVE INFORMED WESTERN ALLIES OF BELGIAN REQUEST AND ALL OF THEM CLEARLY RECOGNIZE THE PROBLEMS IT POSES. HOWEVER, CANADIANS FEEL, AND WE BELIEVE OTHER ALLIES WOULD AGREE, THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO RESIST THE BELGIAN APPLICATION, PARTICULARLY IF ALL CCD MEMBERS ARE GIVEN OPPORTUNITY TO ATTEND STUDY GROUP. NETHERLANDS DEPUTY, EMPHASIZING THAT HE WAS SPEAKING PERSONALLY AND IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE, INFORMED US THAT HIS DELEGATION MIGHT BE PREPARED TO REFRAIN FROM PARTICIPATING IN THE STUDY GROUP AND LET BELGIUM TAKE ITS PLACE SO THAT SOVIETS WOULD NOT HAVE REASON FOR WANTING TO ADD SOVIET ALLY FROM OUTSIDE CCD.

11. ACCORDING TO LATEST INFORMATION AVAILABLE TO US AT THE TIME OF PREPARATION OF THIS MESSAGE, NON-ALIGNED DISCUSSION OF PARTICIPATION ISSUE AT THEIR MEETING THIS MORNING, MARCH 12, WAS INCONCLUSIVE. IT WAS LEFT FOR MEMBERS TO MAKE THEIR VIEWS KNOWN AT AN INFORMAL MEETING OF THE CCD WHICH HAS NOW BEEN SCHEDULED FOR FRIDAY MORNING, MARCH 14, TO DISCUSS ORGANIZATION OF THE STUDY GROUP. WE UNDERSTAND FROM ONE NON-ALIGNED SOURCE WHO ATTENDED THE MARCH 12 MEETING THAT THE MAJORITY OF THE NON-ALIGNED MEMBERS STILL FAVORED LIMITING THE STUDY GROUP'S SIZE, BUT, APPARENTLY, NONE OF THESE HAS TAKEN SO FIRM A POSITION AS TO RULE OUT EVENTUAL AGREEMENT ON THE ROSHCHIN COMPROMISE PROPOSAL. ANOTHER SOURCE SIMILARLY REPORTED THAT THOSE NON-ALIGNED WHO HAD ORIGINALLY FAVORED LIMITING THE SIZE OF THE GROUP STILL HOLD TO THOSE VIEWS, THOUGH HE ADDED THAT THERE WAS TALK AT THE MEETING ABOUT THE DESIRABILITY OF OPENING THE GROUP TO ALL THOSE STATES WHICH ARE GENUINELY INTERESTED IN PARTICIPATING.

12. IN THE TIME REMAINING BEFORE THE CCD INFORMAL MEETING
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ING ON MARCH 14, WE AND OUR ALLIES WILL BE CONTINUING OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH THE NON-ALIGNED TO ACHIEVE A CONSENSUS ALONG THE LINES SUGGESTED BY AMBASSADOR ROSHCHIN. AS INDICATED ABOVE, THIS WILL NOT BE EASY TASK. OUR TENTATIVE PLAN IS TO HAVE THE CANADIANS PUT FORWARD THIS PROPOSAL AT THE INFORMAL MEETING SINCE THEY ARE STRONGLY IN FAVOR OF IT AND ARE IN A PARTICULARLY GOOD POSITION TO INFLUENCE NON-ALIGNED ATTITUDES. CANADIAN AMBASSADOR BARTON HAS READILY AGREED TO THIS PLAN. WE WILL, OF COURSE, ALSO URGE SOVIETS TO ACTIVELY JOIN IN TRYING TO PROMOTE CONSENSUS ON THE BASIS OF THEIR PROPOSAL THOUGH THEY HAVE SO FAR SHOWN LITTLE INCLINATION TO LOBBY ENERGETICALLY FOR IT AMONG THE NON-ALIGNED. DALE

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